

THE AMERICAN FREEDMAN.

[Address, 76 John Street; or P. O. Box 5,733.]

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, JUNE, 1866.

No. 3.

The American Freedmen's and Union Commission,

76 John Street, New York City.

"This Commission is constituted to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality. No schools or supply depots shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color."—ART. II. CONSTITUTION.

Bishop MATTHEW SIMPSON, Phila., President.
Rev. JOS. P. THOMPSON, D.D., N. Y.,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston,
CHARLES G. HAMMOND, Chicago,

Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, Gen. Sec.,
J. MILLER MCKIM, Cor. Sec.,
GEO. C. WARD, Esq., Treas.,
FRANCIS G. SHAW, New York, Chairman Ex. Com.

DISTRICT OFFICES—NORTH.

New England	8 Studio Building, Boston	Rev. J. H. CHAPIN, Secretary.
New York	76 John Street, New York	Rev. W. G. HAWKINS, Secretary.
Pennsylvania	424 Walnut Street, Philadelphia	J. E. RHOADS, Secretary.
Maryland	5 and 7 Tyson's Building, Baltimore	Rev. F. ISRAEL, Secretary.
Ohio	Cleveland	L. F. MELLIN, Secretary.
Michigan	Detroit	Rev. S. CHASE, Secretary.
Indiana	Indianapolis	JACOB S. WILLETT, Secretary.
Northwestern States	25 Lombard Block, Chicago	Rev. J. M. WALDEN, D.D., Secretary.

GENERAL AGENTS—SOUTH.

[These gentlemen are paid by, and responsible to, the Central Commission; but are directed to render whatever services are desired by any Branch in supervising schools or distributing supplies. They will give prompt attention to any correspondence from any Branch Society.

Virginia	Richmond	C. T. CHASE, Esq.
North Carolina	Raleigh	Rev. F. P. BREWER.
South Carolina		
Georgia	Macon	E. B. ADAMS.
Florida and Alabama	Tallahassee	GEORGE H. ALLAN.

THE AMERICAN FREEDMAN.

THIS journal is published as the central organ of the Freedmen's and Union Commission, for the benefit of the Branches and the information of all who are interested in the work of education in the South.

Copies will be furnished *without charge* to any Branch of the Commission for distribution in connection with their organs, or for such other use as may best subserve the interests of their work. Communications should be addressed to the General Secretary.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

IT is our object to make this journal something more than merely an organ of this Commission and its Branches. While its pages will be chiefly devoted to the publication of information concerning the work in which we are engaged, we desire to make it, in addition, not only the medium of communicating to the public such facts as concern the welfare of the Freedmen, and the general progress of education, industry, and the cause of Christian civilization in the South, but also to afford in its columns, from time to time, discussions from able writers on subjects cognate to our work. In accordance with this policy we are glad to be able to state that the following persons permit us to announce their names as special and occasional contributors to the pages of this journal. They will all be recognized as sincere friends of our cause, in the active labors of which, indeed, most of them are actually engaged:

MAJ.-GEN. O. O. HOWARD, *Washington*.
 HON. HUGH L. BOND, *Baltimore*.
 REV. R. J. PARVIN, *Philadelphia*.
 REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, *New York*.
 REV. E. H. CANFIELD, *D.D., Brooklyn*.
 PROF. J. HAVEN, *D.D., Chicago*.
 REV. LEONARD BACON, *D.D., New Haven*.
 REV. JOHN PARKMAN, *Boston*.
 WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *Boston*.

Contributions from other sources on subjects cognate to our work will always be welcomed, though always received subject to the editorial right of revision or rejection, and we shall always be glad to record information concerning the work and progress of any of our Branches.

THE SITUATION.—THE CLEVELAND MEETING AND ITS RESULTS.

WE give in another column a full report of the Cleveland meeting and its fortunate results. We believe these fully justify the wisdom of calling for such a conference, and demonstrate, what we did not doubt, that the apparent differences which threatened to prevent the complete union of all the co-laborers in one national organization, were only the result of a mutual misunderstanding, and only needed personal conference to secure their removal. It

was agreed with entire unanimity that the principles of all the societies, both those which had entered into the union and those which had previously declined to do so, were substantially the same. By mutual concessions in matters of minor detail, such differences as remained were easily, happily, and we hope permanently, harmonized. The Convention finally agreed in recommending certain amendments to the present Constitution of the Freedmen's and Union Commission. And though no final and definite action was taken upon these suggested amendments, which were referred to the various societies for their consideration, it was agreed that upon their ratification by the several societies represented, the General Secretary should declare the union finally consummated; and all the delegates returned to their homes with the purpose of securing such a ratification by the societies which they severally represented. The entire proceedings were characterized by great cordiality, perfect frankness, and hearty efforts upon all sides to secure unity of effort and organization.

It is believed that the amendments proposed do not infringe upon any of our well-settled principles, and will not materially affect any of our plans of action. The most important of these alterations, as recommended by the Convention, are to Articles 1, 4, 6, and 10.

Art. 1. The word "and" it is proposed to strike from the title of the Commission, which will thus become "The American Freedmen's Union Commission."

Art. 2. The addition made to this article simply states, what is an undoubted fact, that the first and chief object of the society is the education and elevation of the freedmen, while the remainder of the article, which is retained unchanged, asserts our fundamental principle, "no distinction of caste or color;" our aid being given to the freedmen not because of their race, but because their peculiar condition gives them a special claim upon our sympathies.

Art. 4. The object of the addition recommended to this article is to give any of the societies the privilege of combining in a department if the necessities of the work require. Of this they alone can judge. There is reason to think that it will be found practically necessary to maintain such a combination upon the Pacific coast.

Art. 6. This is entirely changed. The object is to render the Executive Committee more thoroughly a representative body. It is provided that one of the three delegates chosen by each branch shall reside in the vicinity of the Central Office, in order to secure a quorum for

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the transaction of business. It is believed that this change will receive the cordial approval of all the Branches. Its adoption will render it necessary that each Branch society should elect representatives to the new Executive Committee.

Art. 10. In order to render the duty imposed by the amendment suggested to this article as light as possible, the General Secretary will prepare and forward to all Branch societies a blank report, to be filled out and returned to him. The importance of such reports, for the mutual information of all engaged in this work, is too apparent to need comment.

We trust that all the various societies engaged in this work will take immediate action upon the recommendation of the Convention, which we hope may be ratified without further alteration. Doubtless in the discussions which the consideration of these alterations may elicit in the various societies, verbal criticisms and even important amendments may be suggested. But it should be remembered that any further alterations must be first proposed to all the other societies, a process involving long delays and perplexing correspondence. We trust, therefore, that this result will be accepted as it stands, as a comprehensive and satisfactory platform to all concerned; and we hope to be able to announce in our next issue that it has been finally ratified by all the societies, both East and West, and thus that this effort for one national and comprehensive Commission is finally and fully successful.

P. S.—Since writing the above article we learn that the amended Constitution has already been ratified by the Cleveland and New York societies, and has been cordially approved at an informal meeting of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission of Cincinnati, and by a formal vote of the Northwestern Commission of Chicago.

MONTHLY RECORD OF EXECUTIVE ACTION.

[Our object in this article is to afford, for the information of the Branches, a condensed statement of the most important action of the executive officers during the preceding month.]

THE CLEVELAND MEETING.

The most important action of the executive officers during the month of May has consisted in preparing for the Cleveland meeting. A full report of this meeting is given in another column. It is believed that the results achieved prove this convention to have been a success.

EXPENSES OF DELEGATES.

By special resolution, the Treasurer is author-

ized to pay the expenses of *two delegates* to the Cleveland meeting, from every society which is, or before such payment shall become, a Branch of this Commission. The amount of such expenses will be duly paid upon the requisition of the Secretary or Treasurer of any society represented at that meeting, upon their ratification of the Constitution.

SPECIAL REPORT ON ORGANIZATION.

The special report of the General Secretary on organization has received the approval, with some slight modifications, of the New England, New York, and Pennsylvania Societies. The pressure of other and more important matters prevented its consideration at Cleveland. The amendment to the Constitution proposed by that report was, however, accepted and approved both by the Convention and the Commission.

WESTERN SECRETARIALSHIP.

The Western Secretary, Rev. J. M. Walden, D.D., has resigned his secretaryship, and the resignation has been accepted. The effect of this action, together with the resignation of Rev. J. R. Shipherd, reported in our last, is to substitute but one central office in the place of the three before maintained—at Chicago, Washington, and New York. It is believed that the efficient organizations afforded by the various local societies which now occupy the whole country, preclude the necessity of separate District Secretaries. In this way greater simplicity of organization and economy of expenditure are secured, without—it is believed—incurring the risk of loss of efficiency.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS AT RICHMOND.

Under Mr. C. T. Chase's efficient management the buildings occupied by this Commission in Richmond, formerly belonging to the Confederate government, have been turned over absolutely to the Commission. This has not been accomplished without much difficulty, and some opposition both from public officials and private interests. The lots on which these buildings stand being about to be restored to their owners, new lots have been procured, and the process of removal has already commenced. An appropriation of \$5000 has been made for a Normal School at Richmond.

NORMAL SCHOOL FOR FLORIDA.

Chaplain Hobbs having been removed from his position as Superintendent of Instruction in Florida, the resolution appropriating \$5000 for a Normal School in that State through him has been rescinded.

SOUTHERN REPORTS.

As the General Secretary is still receiving

answers to the interrogatories addressed to officers and others in the South, asking information as to the best methods of prosecuting the work during the ensuing season, he reserves their publication, promised in our last, until the next number of *THE FREEDMAN*.

CONVENTION OF TEACHERS' COMMITTEES.

A Convention of Teachers' Committees has been called by the New England Society, to meet in Boston the 1st day of June. Its object is to consider such questions as may affect the work of the Societies engaged upon the Atlantic coast, during the next season. Delegates are expected from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. We hope to give a report of its proceedings in our next issue.

DENOMINATIONAL AND UNDENOMINATIONAL ACTION.

The rough draft of a paper defining the work of this Commission, as distinguished from the missionary work of the denominational Boards, and discussing the question how far the schools established by this Commission can afford religious instruction, was presented during the month by the General Secretary to the Executive Committee. On his motion the subject was referred to the Cleveland meeting. The issuance of such a paper was approved by the meeting, and a special committee was appointed to prepare and publish the same.

THE CLEVELAND MEETING.

THE resignation of Bishop Simpson (owing to the pressure of his other duties) rendered necessary a meeting of the Commission to elect a president in his place. At the same time, it was desirable to secure a conference of delegates from the various undenominational societies engaged in the work of education and relief in the South. The fundamental principle of our organization, no distinction of caste or color, had been fully discussed in the East at meetings called for that purpose. No such discussions had taken place west of the mountains. Our principles and purposes were not well understood by our co-laborers there. And while all the Eastern societies had formally ratified our constitution, and several of the Western societies had done so, several of the western branches of the late Freedmen's Aid Commission declined, or at least delayed to do so. Believing that a mutual conference between the East and the West was all that was necessary to remove the misunderstanding which had arisen, and to secure the hearty and unanimous co-operation of the East and the West in our common work,

the Executive Committee issued a call for a meeting of this Commission at the city of Cleveland on the 16th of May, to which also were invited representatives from all co-operative and undenominational societies.

OBJECT OF THE MEETING.

The object of this meeting is set forth in the following resolution:

Resolved, That the General Secretary be directed to call a meeting of the Commission in the city of Cleveland at such time as may be agreed upon by correspondence with the branch at that place; that he incorporate in the call a notice that a President will be elected in the place of Bishop Simpson, resigned, and that such amendments to the Constitution may be submitted as are necessary for the more perfect and satisfactory organization and adjustment of the work in the Western States; and that he invite all the Societies hitherto acting as auxiliaries to either Commission to send delegates to confer with the Commission upon the general interests of the work and the best methods of its prosecution.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MEETING.

Pursuant to this call the Convention assembled in the First Presbyterian church at Cleveland, on the 16th of May, at 10 o'clock in the morning. All the undenominational societies, except the Philadelphia Branch of this Commission, were represented as follows:

Central Commission—Francis George Shaw, Rev. Lyman Abbott, J. Miller McKim.

New England—Rev. J. Parkman and Capt. E. H. Hooper.

New York—Francis George Shaw, Rev. E. H. Canfield, D.D.

Baltimore—Hon. Hugh L. Bond, Rev. Wm. Bruce, Rev. Geo. P. Hays, and Rev. F. Israel.

Pittsburgh.—Rev. J. B. Bittinger, Josiah Copley, and Joseph S. Travelli.

Cleveland—Joseph Perkins, Rev. J. A. Thome, H. B. Spellman, and H. K. Reynolds.

Cincinnati—Rev. J. M. Walden, D.D.

Indiana—Jacob Willets.

Chicago—Rev. J. C. Burroughs, Rev. William Jackson, and Rev. Joseph Haven.

Michigan—Rev. Supply Chase.

Pacific Coast—Rev. Jesse T. Peck, D.D.

The meeting was called to order by J. M. McKim, Esq., of New York, and organized by the appointment of Hon. Hugh L. Bond, of Baltimore, as Chairman, and E. H. Hooper, of Boston, and H. B. Spellman, of Cleveland, as Secretaries.

On motion, the Chairman appointed the following named gentlemen as a Business Committee: Rev. E. H. Canfield, D.D., N. Y. Rev. J. Parkman, Boston; Rev. William Bruce, Baltimore; Rev. Joseph Haven, Chicago; Rev. J. M. Walden, Cincinnati; Rev. Jesse D. Peck, San Francisco; Rev. Lyman Abbott and J. M. McKim, Esq., New York; Joseph Perkins, Esq.,

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Cleveland; Jacob Willets, Indianapolis; Joseph S. Travelli, Pittsburgh; and Rev. S. Chase, Detroit.

Adjourned until 3 o'clock P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Business Committee, through Rev. E. H. Canfield, D.D., made a report, in part as follows:

Resolved, That all the delegates to the meeting, and other friends of the cause, be invited to sit as corresponding members, and take part in its deliberations.

Resolved, That the Chairman of this Committee be requested to submit to this meeting such facts in regard to the history of the Commission as may be instructive and needful to their guidance.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the best method of promoting the unity and efficiency of all the organizations in the United States for the benefit of the Freedmen.

The first and second resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Under the second resolution, J. M. McKim, Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's and Union Commission, gave a concise history of that organization, the following report of which we copy from the Cleveland *Leader*:

HISTORY OF THE FREEDMEN'S AND UNION COMMISSION.

He said this movement originally grew out of the capture of Port Royal, some four years ago. It was seen that provision must be made for the care of the poor blacks who came into our hands, and small societies were created to effect this purpose. The first was at New York, the second at Boston—called the New England Educational Society—and the third at Philadelphia, called the Port Royal Society. Afterwards, as Grant gave us victories in the West, Freedmen's societies sprang up in Chicago, Cincinnati, and the West; and these became strong bodies. Then the necessity of union between these different societies became apparent, and those of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and elsewhere were partially united, with a general headquarters at Washington. This *quasi* union was found to be unsatisfactory, and a genuine union was anxiously desired. Various informal propositions were made, and finally it was determined to organize a strong National Association. Gentlemen from the West said they would unite with us of the East, and we were glad to undertake the project of a strong, *bona fide* national organization. We of the East held preliminary meetings, and created the "American Freedmen's Aid Union," including all local branches from Boston west to Pittsburgh, and south to Washington. This movement was tolerably successful, yet we had not gained what we wanted—A REALLY NATIONAL COMMISSION. Accordingly, we had conference and correspondence with men from all parts of

the country, and just as we were going to bring the work to a close, we were requested not to go on until the West should be more fully consulted. We awaited the arrival of our friends from the West, and then organized the "American Freedmen's Aid Commission." This was an excellent movement, but we soon felt it was not enough. It was exclusively a *Freedmen's* Commission; on its face devoted to a *class*. We were at work on expediency, and not on principle—that is, the highest principle. We wanted to spread our arms wider, to occupy broader ground.

At this time there was also in existence another institution, the "American Union Commission." It was not so well arranged as ours, and did not work so well; but it had a good basis, and was doing something. At a meeting of our Commission (attended by Bishop Simpson, Judge Bond, Mr. Beecher, Dr. Thompson, Generals Fisk and Swayne) it was asked, Why have two organizations for the same purpose—why such complex and multiplied machinery? It was answered, there were no good reasons for this, if we could possibly unite our forces. The proposition for a union was referred to a committee, who reported in its favor both as to sentiment and practicability. At last a meeting was held to bring about our object. We met opposition, and had a hard struggle. Mr. Garrison dissented from our view. He said the "Union Commission" was formed for the Southern whites, and *his* first duty was to the freedmen. He presented several arguments against the fusion; but we said, granted that the colored men have the *first* claim upon us, we ought also to remember all necessitous people without regard to race or color. We ought not to have a commission founded on *class* in name or theory. Thus we debated the question, until from all our struggle came out a hearty endorsement of the plan of union, and on the 31st of January the consolidation was effected, and the nuptials triumphantly celebrated. This established the "American Freedmen's and Union Commission."

Shortly afterward, we learned with some surprise and very deep regret that some of our friends in the West were not prepared to co-operate with our new society. This being the case, we have called this meeting in a spirit of conciliation and Christian sympathy, for a free and frank interchange of sentiment. Our Commission is strong, and we of the East are fully united in its support. We have the approval of Chief-Justice Chase, of Senators and Representatives, of business men and scholars, of the great and good everywhere

in the East, and we ardently desire the co-operation of and fraternity of all our Western co-laborers in the great cause.

Mr. McKim then traced the proceedings of the new Commission and its Executive Committee from the 31st of January to the present time, fully explaining its constitution and transactions. Its corner-stone is this declaration :

" This Commission is constituted to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition upon the basis of industry, freedom, education, and Christian morality. No schools or supply depots shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color.—ART. II., CONSTITUTION."

DISCUSSION.

The third resolution was then taken up. Its author, Dr. Peck, asked for a full expression upon it, in order to lay the groundwork for harmonious action.

In accordance with this request a lengthy discussion ensued, participated in by Rev. Dr. Burroughs, Rev. Mr. Jackson, of Chicago, J. M. McKim and Francis George Shaw, of New York, Rev. Mr. Israel and Judge Bond, of Baltimore, Rev. Mr. Travelli, of Pittsburgh, and Rev. John Parkman, of Boston. This discussion elicited some difference of opinion on minor points, but a substantial agreement in principle and purpose, and an earnest desire to waive all minor difficulties and unite in a broad, liberal, and Christian policy of benevolence. A few observations by Dr. Burroughs toward the close of the meeting were received with hearty and unanimous approbation. He said he felt most deeply against our having two organizations for the same purpose. If this goes on, we shall soon have more conflicting interests. We shall soon have denominational projects brought out. Our several religious constituencies are up and doing, and we must move so as, if possible, to concentrate all these activities—to merge all our co-laborers in one grand organization. We must subordinate all personal preferences and prejudices to the main purpose, and, if necessary, let us stay here a week to accomplish our benevolent object.

The third resolution was then adopted, and the following committee announced to enquire into the best method of promoting the unity, harmony, and efficiency of all the organizations in the United States for the benefit of the freedmen: Messrs. Peck, of San Francisco, Burroughs and Haven, of Chicago, Walden, of Cincinnati, Bittinger, of Pittsburgh, and Parkman, of Boston. The convention then adjourned.

The evening session was occupied with general discussion.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Convention met on the morning of the 17th, pursuant to adjournment. Mr. Peck, the Chairman of the Committee, then submitted the preliminary resolutions which were intended to be the foundation of all subsequent action. The Committee said: " We respectfully ask the action of the meeting upon these resolutions before making any further report. Should these resolutions be adopted, they are of opinion that all the true interests of the several organizations will be maintained without the sacrifice of any valuable principle, and incalculable good will result from the labors of this meeting."

The first was unanimously adopted, and read as follows:

1st. *Resolved*, That the principles of the East and West are essentially the same, namely, that the Freedmen should be educated and otherwise aided *as men*, and not upon the basis of color.

Resolved, That no person shall be excluded from the schools of the Commission on account of color.

The second was in reference to the name of the new organization, and elicited much discussion. Many were strongly opposed to changing the title of The American Freedmen's and Union Commission, but an equally strong party as strenuously favored a change, and the morning session was consumed in discussion and attempts to reconcile the conflicting opinions. This finally resulted in the unanimous adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That we propose as the name of the organization "The American Freedmen's Union Commission."

The Convention then proceeded to the consideration of the proposed modification of the constitution. The plan of the Committee is briefly stated in their report.

" Your Committee respectfully recommend the following modification in the constitution, to receive advisory consideration here, and to be submitted to the Commission and all the Branches, West and East, and when fully completed and ratified by the parties concerned, the said constitution shall be the fundamental law of the Commission, and be deemed in good faith the final adjustment of the general questions of policy and administration heretofore raised."

The constitution was then taken up article by article, and every alteration suggested was fully discussed. The constitution with the proposed amendments we give below. In order that our readers may perceive at a glance how far it differs from the present constitution as printed in the May number of *THE FREEDMAN*, we print in *italics* such additions as are proposed, and in brackets such words and phrases of the previous constitution as it is proposed to omit.

CONSTITUTION.

WHEREAS, The American Freedmen's and Union Commission, the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Michigan Freedmen's Aid

Commission, and the Freedmen's Aid Commission of Western Pennsylvania and the adjacent parts of Ohio and West Virginia, having substantially the same object in view, desire a more perfect union, they do therefore adopt the following constitution:

ARTICLE 1.—This organization shall be known as the "American Freedmen's [and] Union Commission."

ARTICLE 2.—Its object shall be the relief, education, and elevation of the Freedmen of the United States, and to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition, upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality. No schools or depots of supplies [supply depots] shall be maintained from the benefits of which any person shall be excluded because of color.

ARTICLE 3.—The Commission shall consist of the persons hereinafter named, their associates and successors; may elect associates who shall be nominated by the Branch in which a vacancy may occur; shall have power to appoint and remove at discretion its own officers, and shall audit their accounts.

ARTICLE 4.—The Commission shall comprise recognized Branches, the Presidents, Corresponding Secretaries, and Treasurers of which shall be *ex-officio* members of the Commission. Each Branch shall be independent of other Branches in the collection of money, goods, and the selection, supervision, and payment of teachers and agents, *but any Branches may, if they deem necessary, combine in a separate department.*

ARTICLE 5.—The officers of the Commission shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and one or more Secretaries.

[ARTICLE 6.—The Executive Committee shall consist of the following named persons: Matthew Simpson, Joseph P. Thompson, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles G. Hammond, Jacob R. Shipherd, George Cabot Ward, John Parkman, O. B. Frothingham, Francis George Shaw, J. Miller McKim, J. M. Walden, James E. Rhoads, Joseph Parrish, George Whipple, Levi Coffin, Thomas M. Eddy, Archibald Stirling, Jr., Lyman Abbott, J. B. Clark, Francis R. Cope, Edward A. Hooper, Henry A. Dike, and Nathan Bishop, five of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. It shall decide, subject to the revision of the Commission, all questions relating to the general policy and action of the Commission.]

ARTICLE 6.—The Executive Committee shall consist of three representatives elected annually by each Branch, one of whom shall reside near the

Central office, together with the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer of the Commission. Five shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. In the absence of the regular member any duly authorized representative of the Branch may act in his stead. The Executive Committee shall decide, subject to the revision of the Commission, all questions relating to the general policy and action of the Commission, and shall have power to fill vacancies in its own body, provided that a vacancy occasioned by the death or resignation of the representative of any Branch Society shall be filled by such Branch.

ARTICLE 7.—Teachers and agents shall be accredited in the name of the *American Freedman's Union Commission*, their credentials being attested by the President and one of the Secretaries, and countersigned by the Branch from which they issue.

ARTICLE 8.—Each Branch shall report quarterly to the General Treasurer all moneys received and expended, and all goods received and distributed.

ARTICLE 9.—Contributions from Europe, the Pacific Coast, and other common sources, shall go into the General Treasury, unless otherwise directed by the contributors. Funds in the General Treasury shall be distributed by the Executive Committee to the Branches, or otherwise applied for the purposes of the Commission. The General Treasurer shall make to the Commission an annual exhibit of all receipts and disbursements.

[ARTICLE 10.—The Secretaries of the Commission shall make an annual report to the Commission, which, with the annual exhibit of the General Treasurer, shall be published under the direction of the Executive Committee.]

ARTICLE 10.—The Secretaries of each Branch shall report quarterly the amounts collected and disbursed, and the work done, to the General Secretary, who shall combine the statistics and material facts of all the Agencies recognized by the Commission in his annual report, which shall be published, with the annual exhibit of the Treasurer, under the direction of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 11.—The Commission may be called together by the President or the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 12.—This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting of the Commission, notice of the amendment in writing having been given at a previous regular meeting of the Commission, and furnished to each Branch, or printed with notice of the meeting.

The constitution as thus amended was approved by the convention without a dissenting

voice. The following resolutions were then proposed and adopted:

Resolved, That copies of the constitution as now framed, be sent to all organizations hitherto co-operating and others engaged in the same work, with a respectful invitation to unite under the constitution and elect members of the Executive Committee, and to report their action to the General Secretary, Rev. L. Abbott, of New York.

Resolved, That the General Secretary is directed as soon as he shall be notified that a majority of the associations here represented have approved of this constitution, to declare the union consummated.

A motion was made and carried recommending Hon. Schuyler Colfax as the President of the new Commission.

A vote of thanks was tendered to the citizens of Cleveland for the liberal hospitality extended to the members of the Convention during their stay in the city.

After a fervent prayer, offered by Dr. Peck, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

MEETING OF THE COMMISSION.

During the session and after the adjournment of the Convention, a formal meeting of the Commission was held, Judge Bond presiding. The amendment to Article 6 of the Constitution, rendering the Executive Committee a representative body, was passed, due notice of this amendment having been given in the call for the meeting. The resolutions given above, conditionally approving the other amendments, received the sanction of the Commission, and Hon. Schuyler Colfax was elected President. By this action the Gen. Sec. is authorized to announce the amended Constitution adopted whenever it receives the approval of a majority of the societies represented in the Convention; in which case Mr. Colfax becomes the President of "The American Freedman's Union Commission."

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

During the meeting the question of the relation which this Commission sustains to the religious sects, and its duty in regard to religious instruction, which had been brought before the Executive Committee, was by them referred to the Commission for consideration. On motion of Mr. McKim, it was resolved that it be referred to a committee of five, of whom the General Secretary shall be chairman, to prepare and lay before the public a suitable address upon the subject. The chairman appointed Messrs. Lyman Abbott, Dr. Canfield, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, F. R. Cope, and N. Bishop, LL.D., such committee.

BALTIMORE NORMAL SCHOOL.

An application previously made to the Executive Committee by the Baltimore Branch, for aid in establishing in that city a Normal School,

was brought up by Mr. McKim. After discussion it was resolved that the Commission will be responsible for the forthcoming of a sum not exceeding \$5000, to aid the Baltimore Association in the establishment of a Normal School for the benefit of the freedmen in the city of Baltimore.

On motion, the Commission adjourned.

SUCCESS OF THE CONVENTION.

We cannot close this report better than by the following quotation from the *Cleveland Daily Leader*, to whose full and accurate report we are greatly indebted for the material for this report.

"The work of the Convention is done, and well done. In spite of what at first seemed insuperable difficulties, the way to union has been made smooth, and the differences between the sections removed. Dr. Peck, of San Francisco, acted throughout as mediator, and his earnest, whole-souled efforts did much towards stilling the troubled waters. The spirit of other members was uniformly liberal and courteous, and the best of feeling was preserved throughout the sessions, and the distinguished men who met here from widely separated sections will act more in union and with ten-fold greater effect for the free interchange of thought and opinion in the deliberations of the past two days."

ADDRESS OF THE SWISS CONVENTIONS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. H. SERMENT, of Geneva, President of the "Committee auxiliary to the American Commission," in forwarding copies of the address of the united Swiss Committees, a translation of which we append, writes under date of 28th April:

"In Switzerland our progress is as rapid as could be expected. We have now seven Committees in full activity. Geneva, Vaud, Neuchatel, Bale, Zürich, Ticino, and Berne have also aided in forming a Committee in the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, which is endeavoring to give an impulse to the movement in Italy.

"We are at present publishing a detailed account of our operations in Switzerland, which, with the report of the successful meeting held in Geneva on the 29th March, shall be mailed to you as soon as completed. We congratulate you sincerely on the passage of the 'Bill of Rights,' and pray earnestly that God will continue to protect your nation and our dear freedmen."

EARNEST APPEAL FOR IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

GENEVA, April 24, 1866.

MR. PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE:

I have the honor to transmit the enclosed address, praying that you will communicate it to the Chamber over which you preside; hoping that they will see in it a new testimony of the lively interest which the citizens of Switzerland

feel in the future prosperity of the great American Republic.

I pray you to accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my profound respect. J. H. SERMENT.

Address of the Swiss Committees of Geneva, Bâle, Neuchâtel, Ticino, and Berne in favor of the Freedmen, and of the Assembly convoked at Geneva on the 20th March, 1866, by the Geneva Convention.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

Mr. President, Messrs. Members of Congress: For four years we have, as it were, lived with you, have borne your grievances, been rendered joyous at your deliverance, and have gloriéd in your success.

When the election of Lincoln announced to the world that you had had enough of the system which abased you—enough of complicity and compromise with slavery—of man-hunting ordained by slavery—of conquests for the profit of slavery—of politics in favor of the party of slavery—we gave thanks to God.

When your Union was disrupted by revolt, when your prosperity was crippled, when many voices had prophesied the dissolution of the Union, we hailed the commencement of a new and better life for your people.

When military reverses menaced your noble cause, we still believed that it would not perish. When Europe lent, or seemed to lend, an intervention in favor of the South toward violating your blockades in recognition of the Rebel Confederacy, we always believed that something would interpose itself between the design and the execution; that your grand principle would intervene, and through that you would become invincible.

When it was generally believed and said that peace negotiations would render nugatory the moral results of the war, that you would compromise with the prejudices and institutions of the South, we always believed that you would not lay down your arms until you had destroyed your real enemy—slavery.

When the death of Lincoln plunged us in mourning, we believed that Lincoln's successor would stake his honor on the continuance and the completion of his work. Finally, when you have announced to the world that the Constitutional Amendment was adopted, that already there was no single slave upon the soil of the Union, we heard with inexpressible emotion this glorious progress—this greatest event of our age.

It is this sentiment which we would manifest to-day as a duty. Of slight importance though the testimony may be, it shall not be said that the voice of Switzerland should not make itself heard in your applause. You have far surpassed the hopes of those who hoped the most. At the same moment in which your trials terminated, you pronounced the talismanic word of freedom. It will make itself heard throughout the New World; the Spanish treaty will be suppressed; you will annihilate Brazilian slavery. A whole race suffering in bondage will be freed at the sound.

These are rare days in the history of mankind, when politics and the Gospel move hand in hand—these days of sunshine unobscured by a cloud.

After such days, in resuming the course of ordinary life we should guard against dangers from contingencies, and set aside obstacles. To finish is more difficult than to begin; to make sure its application, more arduous than the enunciation of a principle.

The labors that await you to-day are not less important, and are more complex and difficult to surmount than those of yesterday.

But the one is of no avail without the other. Sad will be the condition of your enfranchised slaves if you make not citizens of them.

Between slavery and liberty—real liberty—there are no compromises. Thus, what do the enemies of the Union now predict? That freedom will destroy the freedmen—that, tired of them, you will succumb to the *ennui* of the fatiguing problem—that you will no longer listen to the voice of the poor negroes—that it will not matter to you whether they remain or depart, whether they live or die—that, in the rude contact with your prejudices and contempt, they will perish, as the Indians have perished—that your pharisaical abolition will result in their extermination—that the pure glory of to-day will turn to shame on the morrow.

We protest against such dark presages—we ask that they may be branded with falsehood. We know that your acts will so brand them, and very soon.

The more you desire this dark question to cease troubling the United States, the more you will feel that it must be disposed of. Unsolved questions have no pity for the *répose* of mankind. And how shall that completion be attained? But two things remain to be done; to maintain your Freedmen's Bureau, and to suppress all civil and political distinctions on account of color. To refuse Federal protection to the slaves that were—a protection indispensable to the transition—is to give them up purely and simply to the laws, the administration, the tribunals of the South. It would be to decree the re-establishment of slavery with the addition of hatred, and, consequently, of atrocity. To permit the political exclusion of the black race, as a race, would be to deny the principle, even the name, for which the North has so valiantly combated.

That prudent measures should accompany the conferring of the right of suffrage in the South—that, for instance, it should be limited to those who can read and write, without distinction of color—we can well understand. But what we cannot understand, nor can any of those who have sustained your cause, is the exclusion of the race. If the Southern States were readmitted to Congress without imposing upon them, as a condition, the equality of races, we should bitterly deplore it; we would bow the head in humility and sadness, and await in fear a recommencement of those hostilities between the South and the North, between the Republicans and the Democrats, the end of which had seemed to have been attained.

But what would most disturb all our hopes would be to see those freedmen who had shed their blood for the defense of the Union rewarded for their devotion by being deprived of those rights which are, in all republican governments, the appanage of those brave men

who are called to bear arms for their country, at the same time that the rebels, who had torn the bosom of their country, and begged the intervention of foreigners, were not only re-enjoying the rights they had before the war, but made the absolute arbiters of the fate of loyal citizens. To give to those guilty of high treason the power to reduce good citizens to the position of political *pariahs*, is to reward treachery and to discourage patriotism—to yield to those who pronounced self-government impossible and self-annihilating.

That the one condition necessary to future peace should be imposed on the rebel States which we have above indicated, we doubt not you understand, for you have already imposed upon them an affirmative vote upon the amendment abolishing slavery.

One step more, and your task is finished; by the side of the abolition of slavery it remains for you to equalize the races before the law. What is abolition without equality? It remains for you to decide that the rebel States before re-entering Congress should abolish all distinctions based on color. Political franchises in all respects should be enjoyed equally

blacks and whites. These guarantees obtained, open to them your arms, and hasten toward a general reconciliation. Avoid any unnecessary prolongation of the present interregnum. Add to your other glories that of re-establishing the power of your Government at the immediate close of a bitter civil war. Liberty is bold and strong; and of what use are her boldness and strength if she cannot trust and pardon?

It is repugnant to us to conceive your stopping half-way, and conferring upon the former slaves liberty without equality, or, in other words, liberty without the conditions of freedom: liberty without dignity; liberty with an unopened future, without possible progress; liberty without that upon which it becomes great and attains its end. Thus you would re-constitute a new slave party in Congress—further oppressions of slaves throughout the South. Seeking for peace, you would reorganize war—serve war at first, for you cannot pronounce with impunity the words BE FREE; and when those whom you have declared free feel that they have neither protection nor rights, nor means of regular action, they are almost infallibly driven to employ other means. Civil war would follow. Is it possible that the blood of the blacks shed on the other side of the Potomac, that cruel oppressions, would not speed that war, and that the generous instincts of the North would not reawaken? They would complain, they would denounce iniquities, they would intervene morally, and the ancient quarrel would blaze forth again. As faithful friends, we have better hopes for you. We have said much, convinced that you will easily perceive that there is a warm sympathy in the depths of our fears, and that our sincerity is strengthened by respect and by attachment.

May He who has guarded you and protected you thus far continue to guard and protect you to the end; that He may empower you to finish what you have begun—to treat as fellow-citizens and to love as brothers those who, thanks to you, are no longer in slavery; and

that He may accomplish for you now and here after all those good wishes with which our hearts are filled.

J. H. SERMENT and others, for Geneva.
ADOLPH CHRIST and others, for Bale.
ROBERT LISSOT and others, for Neufchatel.
F. BIANCHETTI and others, for Ticino.
BERNARD and others, for Berne.
M. BECHET, for Vaud.
GENEVA, April 10, 1866.

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INDIANAPOLIS, 5th Mo., 19th, 1866.

L. ABBOTT, GENERAL SECRETARY:

Dear Friend: Agreeably to thy request, I forward extracts from a few letters, answers to enquiries in regard to the workings of the principle adopted by the American Freedmen's and Union Commission.

Major-General Fisk writes from Nashville, April 23:

" . . . I believe it to be best that we have but one national organization, which would be to the Freedmen's Bureau what the United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions have been to the army and navy during the war, and that all State organizations would do well to become auxiliaries of the National Commission.

. . . I am pleased with the principle upon which the united Commissions have constituted their organization. Let us do good to all men. Let our philanthropy be broad enough to cover every man, woman, and child that may be struggling for elevation. Let us remember the two commandments upon which 'hang all the law and the prophets.'

" The Southern people as a mass regard with disfavor all efforts on the part of Northern societies to establish educational or religious missions in the South; but they at the same time regard with more favor such organizations as provide for all the poor without distinction of race or color.

" In a portion of the South the general work of education, as carried on by Northern societies, cannot be conducted without the protection of the Government; but this applies to a limited portion, and I think that even is growing less. One of the best results of the aggressive labors of the Northern educational societies in the South, has been the awakening on the part of the Southern people themselves to the importance of universal education. Within the last few months, nearly every religious conference or convocation has inaugurated measures for the education of the freedmen. The Southern press has been emphatic in its demands that the Southern people should promptly render it unnecessary for the 'Yankees' to be sending

'school-marms' South to teach the 'little niggers.'

"The people of this country should cast their gifts into the treasury of the Commission with a liberal hand *this year*. *Push on the columns*. Multiply schools all over the South. Let them be conducted in the spirit of Christian love. Teachers should labor to *restore, heal, and bind up*. The Southern States will by-and-by provide by law for the education of all. The ball set in motion by the societies of the North cannot be stopped. The colored people *will be educated*. *They imperatively demand it*, and the demand will be met by the Southern people in due time. In the mean time, cease not in your efforts to aid the *struggling freedmen now*. . . ."

F. P. Brewer, your agent at Raleigh, writes under date of April 20:

" . . . Dread and hatred of Northern 'fanatism' is as deeply felt by many who hold local power and influence as it was six or ten years ago, and the hope is still entertained of excluding forcibly 'fanatical' ideas and their advocates. There are not a few who will put an evil construction on all that we may do or say. But beside this opposition the work among the freedmen has awakened much jealousy among the poor whites. . . . As they know that they are about equally poor and destitute, they feel hurt that the blacks should receive special help while they are neglected. Admission to an equal share in the distribution of supplies, and, in general, the showing of an equal interest in their welfare, would entirely disarm their prejudice and win their favor. I think that it is highly important, if we have in view simply the performance of our labors among the blacks, that we should diligently labor for the welfare of *all* the poor, without distinction of color. They have *all* suffered from the cruel system of slavery. . . ."

"In regard to schools, there is a word to be said in addition. In the country I believe that the poor whites will see the reasonableness and kindness of inviting them to our schools in company with the blacks. But in the cities, where several schools are supported by us, they would scarcely appreciate any reasons which we could give for not allowing them to attend a school exclusively by themselves. We have as yet, however, hardly had any experience about mixed schools to reason from. In the school for whites in this city we announced the new rule two weeks ago. I hear it reported that all will leave whenever a colored child is admitted—but we shall see.

"There has been a system of free schools in this State for more than twenty years, and an effort was made at the last session of the Legislature to revive it; but one great obstacle was the fear that black children would have to be admitted to these schools. A free school system cannot be sustained hereafter on any other basis, and the sooner the people are accustomed to see them in the same schools again (for forty years ago colored children were admitted into

the old field schools), the sooner will the State resume the work of education.

"But for the time being the State refuses to do anything. She leaves them to get learning where they can. Some influential men, who appreciate the present situation, welcome us and aid us; and if we rise to the great work which God is laying before us, I am sure that the time will come when the professing Christians here will own that the fairest type of piety may be seen among Christians who hate slavery. Prejudice must give way before the power of Christian love. . . ."

Your agent at Richmond, C. T. Chase, writes under date of April 26:

"It seems to me that the union of all the freedmen's friends, under some one general organization, is desirable for several reasons. Let me name a few.

"1st. In union there is strength. Strength we need. It took the combined military and naval power of our great nation, backed up by all the vast resources of the land, to crush the Southern combination against human liberty. The nation has ordained freedom to all and for ever. But the spirit of the old slave power is not dead—not even slumbering. Our duty is to finish up the work which the Government began. We cannot do it by working in independent bands, however good our purposes may be. We want an *independency for individual action* of the different societies, as the States are independent, and a *union of all these separate organizations*, as the States are bound together in the Federal Union. . . ."

"2d. ORDER. Order in all our work. At home, *harmony*—through harmony we gain the confidence of the people. We avoid collisions among the rival societies and their agents. We secure peace.

"3d. Abroad in the field we get **STRENGTH**. They will recognize each teacher as the representative of a grand and powerful organization. They will feel that the mighty Northern arm is behind the most defenceless woman who devotes her life to the good work. They will soon come to tolerate, then respect, then honor, and finally *work with us if we unite*.

"4th. Another important point will be the influence upon the national councils. Three hundred thousand slave-owners ruled there until now. How? By their *unity*, not otherwise. It took two millions of armed men to break their power. By presenting a united front in the home field, in the Southern field, at the polls, and before Congress, the millions of freedom's friends in the land will form the most powerful organization for good that the world has had. Our weapons will not be 'carnal but spiritual,' not bayonets and swords and shot and shell. We shall not take refuge behind earthworks, and station pickets in the deadly dews and damps. Our force will be **MORAL**. Our strength will be in truth and justice. Our missiles will be love and mercy. The Lord will be for us—we shall place ourselves on **HIS SIDE**, and from His side no man falls. We shall prevail. It is as clear as the truths of Gospel are clear, and to be depended on.

"5th. **ECONOMY** will be secured. What a pity it is for half a dozen rival societies to be

sending, each, their delegations through the same fields to glean the same facts—each spending the same amount of time and money that any one good committee only should spend and give the facts to all. I have often seen this with regret.

"6th. EFFICIENCY will be promoted. One competent man or woman will do a work better, when working under a well-defined plan, than a dozen who attempt the same thing from different stand-points.

"7th. The effect on the freedmen will be better for numerous reasons. But I must close."

Your agent for Georgia, E. B. Adams, writes from Atlanta, May 14:

"I am very glad to furnish to you my views, the result and conclusion of nearly a year's experience in this department. One of the prominent objections to the education of the *nigro* by Northern societies, among Southern people, is the apparent fact that the poor whites are ignored. At the same time, they are too proud to confess that the whites are in need or would accept our charity. Here is an apparent inconsistency. The solution of it is, their *pride* yields to necessity, and even while they curse us and our giving, they are at the same time compelled to acknowledge our kindness and treat us with courtesy for the sake of the pitiful little children whom we relieve. The adoption, therefore, of such a 'universal Christian benevolence' as set forth in the second article of the constitution, and to which you referred, would *show a spirit of impartiality*, an acknowledgment that the North *sees more than the nigro* (the contrary being often declared), and even now in many places would do much towards conciliation.

"At Somerville, S. C., the principle works to a charm. White and black children attend the same school, recite in the same classes, play together, and sympathize and rejoice together. The white people appear pleased. The same work could be started at Walterburg, S. C. Thus you see that its tendency is good. I fear that the principle cannot be carried out in large cities for the present; but, commencing where we can, we can advance till we may embrace the whole region—towns, cities, and country.

"As to your second question, the working of our underlying principle must of necessity be slow. So, for the present, I fear that the adoption of this principle would not render unnecessary any protection we receive from the military.

"As to enquiry number three—any act of kindness shown impartially to the poor is welcomed by the State. It relieves her, it comforts her when she is aware that help cannot come from herself. . . ."

I have not yet received replies to letters addressed to other persons in different places at the South, but forward the above for such use as may be thought proper.

Respectfully,

J. S. WILLETS.

CONDITION OF THE SOUTH. SCHOOLS.

SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE—GEORGIA CORRESPONDENCE OF E. B. ADAMS.

AUGUSTA, Ga., April 21, 1866.

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT.

Gen. Sec. F. & U. C., 76 John Street, N. Y. City.

DEAR SIR: On the 14th of April I completed the work assigned to me as my first charge on my departure for the South, in February. The details of this work have already been forwarded to your office.

From the 14th, to date of this report, I have been engaged in gathering statistics and facts for the following report concerning the colored schools of the States and the condition of the poor whites and freedmen. In this report I shall adhere to the order of subjects and arrangement given in circular letter of instructions of February 23d, 1866.

1. "What is being done for Freedmen and Poor Whites by Northern Societies?"

In answer to the above question I shall give you the location, the number of schools, the number of teachers, the number of pupils, and the society or societies which support the work in such location, observing, nearly, the form suggested in yours of 23d February, 1866.

The greater part of the statistical matter following is taken from the State Superintendent's report for the month of March, 1866, of Freedmen's Schools.

FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS IN GEORGIA.

Location.	No. schools.	No. teachers.	No. pupils.	Society which supports them.
Atlanta.....	2	6	630	Am. Missionary As'n.
Macon.....	5	10	659	"
Milledgeville.....	2	2	363	"
Columbus.....	4	8	436	National Fr. Aid. } New Eng. "
Americus.....	1	1	100	"
Athens.....	2	2	76	"
Washington.....	1	1	26	"
Talbotton.....	1	1	5	"
Augusta.....	6	11	1000	Am. Missionary As'n.
Savannah.....	6	11	820	National Fr. Aid. }
	1	4	300	Am. Missionary As'n.
Region of Savannah.....	13	13	500	New Eng. "
	2	2	500	Am. Missionary As.

WHITES' SCHOOLS.

Atlanta.....	5	5	450	Pa. & N. J. A. U. C.
Macon.....	2	2	100	"
Athens.....	1	1	45	"

Besides the schools, Northern societies are forwarding clothing of considerable amount to Atlanta and Savannah, and some other places, in less quantity.

2. "What is the condition of the Freedmen and Poor Whites, and whether it is improving or deteriorating?"

With both these classes the condition is improving rapidly.

The following table will exhibit to you the growth of schools among them:

In this table I trace the schools from November, giving the number of schools, teachers, and pupils, and the amount of money contributed for the schools by the Freedmen themselves, for each month, throughout the State:

Month.	No.	No.	No.	Amount of money con-			
				tributed by Freedmen			
				from July, 1865, to			
				January, 1866.			
1865-Nov.	49	60	5,603	(in seven places			
Dec.	52	62	5,982	\$3,788 only.)			
1866-Jan.	63	63	6,569	328			
Feb.	65	96	6,707	341			
March	65	102	6,705	398			

You observe that in February and March the number of scholars does not increase proportionately to the preceding month. The reason for this is the extensive prevalence of the small-pox, which caused great reduction in numbers, for instance, in Macon the number diminished from 1200 to 600 during these two months for the reason above mentioned. I have visited a great many of these schools. The progress of the children is remarkable. They exhibit great zeal and ordinary aptitude.

Apart from the schools, too, there is a decided improvement in the condition of the negro from what it was when I saw him in December last. They are well at work, respectably clothed, and many are making a handsome yearly income. I know of several cases, which are only types of others, where \$1000, \$1500, \$1,700 are being laid up the first year after freedom.

The condition of the poor whites is equally encouraging. Old tents are being replaced by snug little houses; large families are being supported by the daily toil of the inmates. The children are regaining the vigor and spirit which the sufferings of the fall and winter had apparently taken away.

3. "What are the sentiments of the people at large toward the North, the Government, and the Freedmen, and whether it grows better or worse?"

As a general thing there is not love for the North exhibited by the South as there is love for the South exhibited by the North. To answer the question in regard to sentiment toward the Government, I must first ask you a question: What is the Government? Is it the President? or is it the Congress? or is it the laws? If it is the President, the sentiment is very good. If it is Congress, it is very bad. If it is the laws, it is better than most Northern people are taught to regard it. I believe there is a sincere determination to adhere to the laws. I am quite sure that the reason for this is not *love for the laws*, but that it is a reasonable deduction from the necessity they are under of obeying them. The sentiment toward the negro is *peculiar*. There is a good deal of kindness in the hearts of the people for him. They don't know how to do without him, and yet there is an ill-treatment. How is this to be accounted for? I am forced to the conviction that it is in the natural disposition of man to oppose and thwart the undertakings of his enemies. The *Yankee* is, somehow, identified in the minds of the people with the negro. The *Yankee* is working to raise and elevate him. I believe that the greater part of ill-treatment arises from this fact. Yet I can not see how it can be otherwise. The *Yankee* must do it, for the people here would not or could not educate him themselves, and the importance of his education and elevation is immense. I can, however, see a great progress in the minds of thinking, reasonable men toward complacency in the negro's education, even though it be a *Yankeeism*.

4. "What is done for or against the Freedmen, by private action or by combinations, to depress wages, or by benevolent efforts in the South for his education?" I know of no organized private action against the negro, although there appears to be a general determination to keep his wages *low*. The benevolent efforts among the Freedmen *themselves* for their education are considerable. As you will see from the above statistics, out of the 102 teachers for the month of March, Northern Societies support only 68. Some *few* are supported by private persons, or some religious denomination North, which desires to propagate its own tenets; thus, the Unitarian Church of Boston has a man in Augusta who is a preacher and teacher both. But apart from this little source of help the difference 102-68=34, are supported by the Freedmen themselves.

The monthly collections referred to above go to their support. Most of these are colored teachers.

I know of no benevolent enterprise in the State for their education among *whites*.

5. Legislation.

The last General Assembly appointed a committee to report on "A Free School system" at the next session.

Much time was consumed in preparing a special *negro code*.

Thus *class legislation* is practiced. Among the presentments of the Grand Jury of Vinetion County, in which Atlanta is, there are repeated omen to the purport that no taxes should be levied for a year for school purposes.

I will now give you some of the ideas which have occurred to me in my examination of things.

There appears to be an ingratititude among the Freedmen for the charity which Northern people are so graciously bestowing. They seem to suppose that all this was a matter to be expected. They receive all, not as a gift, but as a *due*. The above is *peculiarly* the case in Savannah.

I have also become *very decided* as to the necessity of having *No. 1 teachers all*. Mrs. J. S. Fortune, Mrs. M. E. F. Smith, and Miss Hattie W. Dowd, are models. Mrs. Fortune is from our Society; I believe Mrs. Smith and Miss Dowd, teachers in Augusta, are from the American Missionary Association. It is refreshing to visit these schools. Order reigns supreme. If all the teachers in the State were like these ladies, it would be better for very many reasons. I am informed that the teachers in Columbus are ill-treated by the people. I intend to visit that place before I go North.

As a general thing I do not deem it advisable to forward clothing to negroes. Mrs. Fortune and Mr. Eberhart concur in this.

Your obedient servant,
E. B. ADAMS.

CORRESPONDENCE OF GEO. H. ALLAN.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., March 31, 1866.

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, General Secretary, etc.:

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to present the following statement as my report for the month of March, 1866. Leaving New York on the 26th February, I took the overland route to Florida via Washington, Fredericksburg, Rich-

mond, Petersburg, Raleigh, Columbia, and Charleston, and thence by steamer to Florida. I made short stops at all these places, and was thus enabled to visit about thirty schools under the care of the Commission. As your agents at the several places named have doubtless given you full statistics of their schools, I will not repeat the many interesting facts already communicated by them, but will proceed to mention a few incidents of my trip which may interest you.

SCHOOLS.

The eagerness and thirst for knowledge manifested by the freedmen's children has been to me a matter of continual surprise. They flock around the school-room door long before the hour of opening, study diligently through the regular school hours, and beg for admittance to the adult school at night, at which time they may frequently be found in the same class with their parents helping them through the mysteries of the alphabet or some simple problem in arithmetic.

The singing of the children is excellent, and averages as well as in the best white schools at the North. I have never heard "Rally round the flag" sung with finer effect than was given by one of the colored schools of Richmond. The children show quick perceptive powers, and many progress rapidly. I saw some who had learned their letters within three days. Others who learned their letters in October last, were busy with their writing lessons, some of which were very neat. Truancy is almost unknown. Boys kept at home by their parents (who are of course very poor) often run away and go to school.

One very pleasing feature in the colored schools observable all over the South, is the neatness and cleanliness of the children. Though cheaply clad, they are clean, and in some schools I have looked in vain for one untidy child. This is remarkable when we consider the humble circumstances of their parents. Poor women, formerly slaves, who cultivate cotton all day with the hoe in the sun, on shares, will often work extra hours, in order to send their children to school decently dressed. Esteeming education as a boon, they willingly make sacrifices to obtain it for their children. Many of the children repay them by instructing their parents at home at night. In frequent addresses to the children, I have encouraged them to persevere in this good work. Not less than *five thousand children* have promised me since I left New York that they would teach their parents to read and write.

ADULT SCHOOLS.

The adult schools have deeply interested me. Men and women who have toiled hard all day long, come at night to those schools, eagerly embracing this opportunity for instruction. Wives may be seen by the side of their husbands, also fathers and sons, mothers and daughters. Old men and women of sixty and seventy years are frequently seen just learning their letters. Extreme age does not deter these people from learning what they can. At Fernandina an old man of eighty years, called "Black Dan" (a native African of pure blood), has but just learned to read. Another old man,

by name "Uncle Ned," known to be *one hundred* years old, had actually learned his letters before his death, which occurred a few months ago. When asked, Why, at his extreme age, he was so anxious to learn to read? he said, "*I must soon die,—as the tree falls, so it will lay, massa.*"

These incidents show conclusively the wonderful desire of these people for education. In the words of one of your agents, it amounts to a "perfect mania." The first sight that met my eyes as I landed at Fort Johnson, from which Edmund Ruffin fired the first shot at Fort Sumter, was an intelligent colored soldier in his sentry-box. He rose and saluted us as we entered. By his side were a Bible and three school-books. In a tour among the forts of Charleston Harbor, all of which are garrisoned by colored troops, I saw but one pack of cards and at least a hundred spelling-books. Many soldiers wished me to procure them a supply, which fact I communicated to Mr. Tomlinson, the efficient Superintendent at Charleston. At Fort Wagner I saw quite a number of colored soldiers with school-books and slates. They were anxious for regular instruction from a qualified teacher. I was informed by the Chaplain of the 34th U. S. C. T., that out of the nine hundred (900) men recently mustered out of service, in that regiment, ninety per cent could read and write.

LABOR.

The argument of the secessionists and their Northern sympathizers, that the "negro wouldn't work," has been refuted by the simple logic of the fact that "he has gone to work." Hardly an able-bodied freedman can be found unemployed. Most of them make contracts with the planters to work through the season either for wages or for a portion of the crop. Provisions are furnished them by the planters—the men receiving in addition from ten to eighteen dollars per month. Women's wages are somewhat lower, and even children can earn something. These contracts are signed by the planter and freedman at the office and with the approval of the nearest Bureau officer. Sometimes when a large number of hands have been thus hired the planter has divided them into squads of ten each, who elect each a captain from among their own number, so as to avoid any necessity for any kind of "overseer."

So far there seems to be a good prospect of a large crop of cotton and corn. The enemies of the freedman having failed in their former argument about his not working, now confidently predict that by midsummer, the romance of freedom having worn off, the plantations will be deserted and the crop ruined. At all events, there are at present no indications of this character as far as I can learn.

Those who are ill or too old or too young to work are mostly supported by relations, and there are very few supported by Government in this vicinity. General Ely, at Columbia, S. C., has a plantation where he sends all who are dependent upon the Bureau. If any able-bodied men are found loitering about Columbia, they are sent to this plantation and made to work for the support of the indigent. They are soon willing to go to work for themselves. Many support their families by taking in washing or in domestic service, others by selling refreshments on the cars. At Branchville, S. C., several

clean and well-dressed women came on the cars with cooked meats, eggs, and chickens for sale on a large tray, which had also a coffee-pot with cups, etc. The food and dishes looked clean and wholesome. At Fort Stedman, near Petersburg, I found an old woman busily engaged in digging up bullets, which she sold for six cents per pound, and thus supported her little family, who lived in a hut inside the fort. In fact all, or very nearly all, seem to get along in some way, and their necessities being but few, but a small number, comparatively speaking, become dependent upon the Bureau. They always unhesitatingly regard Northern men as friends, and their admiration for General Sherman and his brave boys is unbounded. One old woman said she was "glorified to God when *Mister Sherman and his Yankees done come and set us free.*"

Owing to the short time I have been in Florida, I shall not attempt in my present report to speak at length of the schools in that State. There are in all about thirty teachers and two thousand scholars. Here, as elsewhere, the same eagerness is manifested by the children to acquire an education; and here as in other parts of the South our teachers are laboring with energy and faithful zeal amidst many discouragements. Some of these schools have already been visited, and I shall, as soon as possible, visit other parts of the State, so as to see for myself what is being done, and will in due time report thereon. Yours, etc.,

GEORGE H. ALLAN.

[From the *Raleigh Progress*, of North Carolina.]

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

THE civil rights bill, now become a law, seems destined to promote the full restoration of these States to their lost equality in the Union. Having heard it "damned with faint praise" by some persons and spoken of without any praise by others, the writer asks the privilege of a few words in your columns, not to praise every clause in the law, nor to declare it incapable of amendment, but to vindicate its general provisions and spirit in securing equal rights to all that are born in this country except aliens and wild Indians.

1. It is in the spirit of recent laws of North Carolina. The legislature recently enacted that blacks and whites should be equal in respect to punishment for crime. This law is right, just, and Christian. Not one tenth of the religious men of the state would now vote to repeal it. It has been commended often in my hearing. At the recent term of the Superior Court in this city, even the attorney-general and the judge himself, seemed to feel that this impartiality was a thing to be proud of, saying that the laws of North Carolina recognize the same rights of person, the same laws of evidence and the same punishment of crime for the black man as for the white. It is a consequence of this wise action of the assembly that but little further change is needed to adapt our administration of justice to the new law.

2. The principles of this law are established in the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world. In England or France a chimney-sweep has the same right to make and enforce

contracts, to sue, be party and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by a duke. This equality of civil rights is the boast of those countries, as it is henceforth to be the pride of ours.

3. The law takes away that objectionable feature from the Freedmen's Bureau, the committing of judicial powers to comparatively inexperienced agents. The white grocer in this city who was accused last week of ravishing a colored woman, could not be convicted by state laws, because the courts would not receive the testimony of the only witness to this crime. He would have to be tried by one or more army officers but for this law, which gives him a chance before a judge and jury; provided, President Johnson will abolish martial law.

4. The law points out to the Union men of these States the next step in reconstruction. It is a sad mistake to hope that the victories of '65 will be undone by some quirks of politicians or some *coup d'état*. The prudent and manly way is to submit with a good grace and in good faith to the terms imposed by the government in behalf of the loyal States. The President, who was first to be dealt with, expressed himself already satisfied. Congress and the judiciary are next to be met. All laws in conflict with the civil rights bills must be modified at once; for until this bar to harmony is removed, no State can hope to be restored.

Equal rights, impartial justice, is the mandate of the nation. The motto which Virginia gave us, "All men are created free and equal," is to be our universal creed. Providence seems to have been guiding us toward this basis of solid peace.

'He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
Oh! be swift to answer! be jubilant, my feet!'

ENGLISH AID FOR FREEDMEN.

ORGANIZATION OF A SOCIETY IN LONDON—
SPEECHES BY JOHN BRIGHT AND OTHERS.

THE London *Times* of the 25th ultimo has the following account of the organization of the English Freedmen's Aid Society:

"A public meeting to inaugurate the National Freedmen's Aid Union of Great Britain and Ireland was held yesterday afternoon at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Victoria street. The Duke of Argyll presided; and among those present were Sir T. F. Buxton, M.P., Mr. J. Bright, M.P., Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., Mr. Thomas Norton, Mr. Josiah Forster, Mr. B. H. Cadency (Birmingham), the Rev. A. Raleigh, D.D., the Rev. William Shaw, Mr. R. Ferguson (Carlisle), etc.

"The chairman, in opening the proceedings of the meeting, said that, having presided over a meeting in connection with one of the associations of the Union last year, he would have been pleased if some one else had taken the chair on the present occasion, but he feared there was still a certain amount of shyness among our public men in taking part in aid of the freedmen of America, not from a want of personal sympathy for the liberated slave but

from a vague feeling that it was more or less an interference with American politics. Now, he had no sympathy with that feeling. The war was over, and although there were strong personal contests still existing in the United States, we in this country had no interest in those contests, except as far as they might be concerned in the question of negro labor. Beyond seeing the negro fully possessed of his civil rights, which alone could render the abolition of slavery of any value, we should take no part whatever in American politics properly so called. Under all the circumstances he considered there was a strong call upon the people of this country to assist the Washington commission to carry out their objects in a period of difficulty. America needed and would gratefully accept their aid, as Great Britain accepted her aid for Ireland and Lancashire to the amount of £250,000 in their times of distress.

"The Rev. Dr. Howson moved, and Sir T. F. Buxton seconded the following resolution:—

"That this meeting regards the progress of events during the past twelve months as affecting the American freedmen with profound interest, and considers the evident intelligent fitness of an increasing number of the colored people for the proper use of their newly-acquired freedom, their thirsting desire after education, together with their readiness to undertake labor, as so many new and powerful incentives to enlarge philanthropic effort on their behalf."

"Which was unanimously agreed to.

"Mr. Bright then moved:—

"That in view of the devoted labors of the American people through their various Freedmen's Aid Associations, combined with the cooperation of the Government, to meet the physical and moral necessities of the freedmen, the meeting regards the aid afforded hitherto by the British public, which is estimated at more than £80,000, as a proper and grateful expression of our sympathy, and would earnestly recommend that it be largely augmented. The undeniably interest which the British people have in the freedmen's welfare, combined with other considerations of justice and gratitude, requires that such aid should be supplied, until the great and critical work of emancipation may be truly said to be complete."

"Mr. Bright said the mere fact that four millions of our fellow-creatures were in the condition in which the negroes of the United States were would be sufficient of itself to call for help; but when, besides looking at their unhappy condition, they considered the terrific sacrifice by which the great change in their social position had been accomplished, he conceived it to constitute altogether the greatest claim upon them that had ever existed on any nation of the globe. The freedmen were at present living as it were in an enemy's country, as it was quite certain the Southern planters who but yesterday were their masters would not feel any very Christian spirit toward them. What had taken place in Jamaica afforded an illustration of what might be expected to occur in the Southern States of America. Notwithstanding that the abolition of slavery in Jamaica was effected by an act of the Legislature, and a heavy compensation was paid to the owners of the slaves, it was quite clear that from the period of the abolition of slavery up to this hour the whites had never really, in an honest and just spirit, acknowledged the changed condition of the negro, but that during the whole of that time their conduct towards the negro was what it always had been—of a most unjust and iniquitous character. But the negroes of the United States were not voluntarily emancipated,

and no compensation was paid to the planters of the Southern States. The ill-feeling, therefore, which existed in Jamaica on the part of the planter toward the negro might be supposed to exist in an increased degree in the United States, and if it did not, it was, in his opinion, owing to the institutions of the country, a population of freedmen, an extensive suffrage, newspapers, a platform, schools—all these in the South, while in the North the people, who, having gone through this terrible war in connection with the negro, had resolved to complete in peace the work which they had begun in war. Although he believed that the negro would have to undergo great difficulties, still it was his conviction that their former masters would gradually become reconciled to that which was inevitable, and would find that justice and fair dealing were really the only means by which they could gain any compensation for the miseries of the past. Some persons argued, not without show of reason, that the North would do all that was necessary for the South. After all the tremendous exertions they had made, it would be wrong to say that they were not able; but even though able, there were still the strongest reasons why the English people, who sympathize with the negro, should give their help and afford something from their resources that the prosperity of the negro might be more rapidly accomplished.

"Mr. T. Hughes, M.P., seconded the resolution, and said he considered it a great honor that the people of this country should have the opportunity of taking part in such a work as that in which the people of the United States were now engaged. He believed that in a year or two the sufferings of the negro would disappear; unless, therefore, the present moment was taken advantage of, no future opportunity would be afforded the people of this country to deepen and widen the bonds which tied them and the American people together. The resolution was carried unanimously.

"On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Shaw the following resolution was also adopted:—

"That this meeting considers the closer union of the British Freedmen's Aid Association in this benevolent labor of great importance, and that the national form which such an union (comprising more than thirty associations) has taken is eminently adapted for its purpose, and would earnestly commend the claims of the union to the favorable cooperation of all friends of freedom."

RECEIPTS

OF THE

AMERICAN FREEDMEN'S AND UNION COM.
MISSION,

FROM APRIL 21 TO MAY 26, 1866.

Apr. 25. From Sam'l May, Jr., Leicester, Mass.	\$25 00
" From John S. Mann, Coudersport, Pa.	5 50
May 2. From Mrs. Wm. Townsend, New Haven, Conn.	10 00
" From National Protestant Church of Havre, France, by E. Barlow, Treas., f.1.169.20	273 33
May 10. From Rev. Johnston McCormac, Eugene City, Oregon	60 00
May 22. From Freedmen's Aid Society of Portland, Me. (deposit)	5,000 00
" From Sunday-School, Fairport, N. Y.	10 00
May 26. From Freedmen's Aid Committee of Berne, Switzerland, by B. R. de Watteville, f.2,308.60	621 70

\$6,010 53

GEO. C. WARD, Treas.

By FRANCIS GEO. SHAW, Atty.

